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In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 42.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1853.

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"*Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the enactment, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; and thereby to make the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery the vital and animating spirit of the national government.*"—John Quincy Adams

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## REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

About three hundred persons assembled in Town and Hall last evening, to listen to certain of the Old Girls from New York, who, according to announcement, were to deliver discourses touching the Woman's Rights and Wrongs. According to the advertisement, LUCRETIA MOTT and Lucy STONE were to be the speakers; but only the former lady was in attendance, Miss Lucy having in this instance taken her time and delayed her visit. Her stand was filled by ERNESTINE ROSE—a lady whose place at least is terribly misbehaved upon a certain—otherwise of an uncertain age. We may call Ernestine a Young America's Woman's Rights Woman—a female filibuster. She went off like some rustic swain. When the performances commenced, the platform was occupied by three gentlemen—we presume—and one male—we should judge—the latter having much hair on his head, living in rings like a woman's, and much hair on his upper lip, and much hair on his chin, and many straggling, sparsely hairy on his cheeks, looking like disorders from the main body; the whole of which hair was of a reddish, rusty, dusky color. As soon as the Old Girls were comfortably seated, the Man with Much Hair disappeared from the platform.

LUCRETIA MOTT was the first to address the meeting and upon her appearance, a general feeling of disappointment prevailed; for the fair Lucretia lacks all the spice of histrionism and juvenility which imparts so many of the skittish qualities of a certain kind of attraction. Lucretia is a very old girl—a decidedly antiquated specimen of strong-mindedness—might be regarded as a more fitting champion of Grandmother's Rights than of any other. She was habited in a quaker-like dress of dark silk, and wore no jewelry or ornament of any kind, unless her fair headdress would apply the latter term to a skull-cap, fitting closely to the head. The fair Lucretia's voice is somewhat weak, but her words are very strong. There is a certain sort of vivacity, resolute air about all she says and does, which plainly indicates that she would be for her rights as well as strike for them, had not time robbed her of the appropriate instruments. Lucretia evidently has some hope for her sex yet, and does not despair of seeing her some day in the rank she should occupy, in the opinion of the strong-minded. She is inclined to take consolation from the position of a woman in England, as the best of that nation, ruling over and worshipped by its masses. We must confess, however, that we do not regard Lucretia's allusion to the good Queen Victoria as a happy one for her own argument. Mrs. Gladys is a lady in whom domestic virtues, and a gentle, loving nature are peculiarly manifested; and these are the ties which bind her so strongly to her people. But she is a strong and valiant Lucretia could not conceive her a female could hold such a position for a moment without blooming pantaloons, a sour countenance, a sharp eye, a red nose, and an indomitable will. (The fair Lucretia up to this point has been struggling behind the disadvantage of a very high desk—for her form is not so large as her mind)—pervading which, the Man with Much Hair rash forward with a wooden table in his grasp—placed it on the platform—made a convulsive motion for the fair Lucretia—and disappeared.)

Well, Lucretia, behind the small wooden table, had some hope for her sex yet. It was true, that from the time of our first parents, her position had been beneath man; but she had latterly evinced some disposition to rebel. She had become more sensible; she had in a great measure forsaken the trashy, yellow-overlaid literature in which she had once delighted, but the Bible still stands in her way, and she is still too much used to pin her faith on a minister's sleeve—to willingly take the sayings of the expounder of the "holy text," as it is called, in calculating her line of duty. When she gets over this difficulty, then the fair Lucretia believes she will be herself, as she ought to be—This she will accomplish as soon as she begins to inquire into the true meaning of words in the Bible, for, as at present interpreted, false meanings are put upon them. For instance, Lucretia proceeds to show satisfactorily that when the Bible hints that woman shall be subject to man, it only means to say that she shall or will be one of these days, if she does not look sharp after her rights and strike for equality and independence. Again, the Bible is perverted by man in the most trifling matters. Even where the dress and deportment of females connected with the church are commented on, the translators have endeavored to ignore the rank of women of old by writing the text "wives of ministers" and "wives of deacons," instead of rendering faithfully, as it ought to be, "ministers' and deaconesses." In like manner, where the word "wife" is set forth, the words "wives of ministers" and "wives of deacons," do not relate to any other than private matters, for the Apostle has added, "I speak in a mystery." Lucretia then pitched very severely into ministers; at which we were not much surprised, for it is not likely their professional services, in a certain way, will ever be required by the fair sisterhood of strong-minded women and the Woolly Man.

*Extract of a letter, dated Brandon, Vt., Sept. 30th, 1853.*  
If you have not seen the god-bit hit by Rev. Byron Sanderson, of Washington, D. C., on a 4th of July visit to O'Neill, his native place, (Vt.), I will transcribe it for your amusement. It is an extempore effusion on a festival occasion—in extract:

"And now we might rest, but there's one bit of scandal Against Uncle Sam, which his enemies handle; They say he's disloyal with a black-headed cause, And to cover it up, they insist will not answer; That some of his girls that raise sugar and cotton, of the self-same disorder, are fast growing rotten. Men and women, who say we're all slaves, are slaves, And for this reason, Mr. Tappan has invited her over, To fast on good things, like a pig in the clover.

Now, of course, we all know, without any teacher, Hattie Stowe's a smart woman, because she's a Basher, And its right for the Stafford House folks to fly at her; And fondle and toast her, and pat her and kiss her; But we must not forget, for the sake of the bubble, Uphold and patronize political knavery."

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## EMANCIPATION IN JAMAICA.

A staple argument of the chivalric upholders of negro slavery, is, to point to the condition of the Jamaica blacks. We are told that the liberation of the slaves there has proved a total failure, that they are worse off than ever, that their condition is pitiable, and that the interests of the island are ruined.

After all, if it could be fairly proved, owing to the present state of transition, owing to emancipation, there was a clear decimation in their numbers and happiness, such as is asserted to exist, it would prove nothing in favor of human bondage. We have yet to learn that because a man's labor produces more under the lash than without it, he should be lashed, or that his morals would be improved by buying and selling him.

We are far from believing that any idle Southern gentleman among us, who luxuriates in fashionable life either at home or abroad, should be put into the factory or the field, and made to work under the blows of the overseer's whip, although their annual wages would amount to millions. We believe in the higher law. We believe that no man has a right to profit by the weakness, ignorance or poverty of his neighbor, and enslave him thereto. We scout and condemn, accordingly, the logic which tells us that the negroes of Jamaica produced many hogheads of sugar under the lash, and that now they produce so many less. If we cannot have sugar without slavery, let us do without sugar. Sugar is sweet, but freedom is sweeter.

It is a falsehood to assert that we cannot have sugar without slavery. France now produces annually

seventy millions pounds weight of beet sugar, the result of free labor, and the quantity is steadily increasing and the price coming down.

If the pandemonium of sugar plantations were abolished, our Northern ingenuity would rush to fill up the vacuum with sugar made from beets, or some other substance, and the ingenuities and economies produced by free labor would soon compensate for the superior saccharine expression of the cane. So, too, if cotton were annihilated, Northern experiments on flax would give us a substitute. The idea that man must be held in bondage on account of considerations of commerce, is worthy of Judas Iscariot—worse, in fact, for he had the good taste to hang himself after the commission of his crime.

We are led to these remarks from an examination of the actual workings of emancipation in Jamaica. The slaves there are subject simply to the laws of the realm. They are amenable to punishment just as are the whites, and no more. Of course, whatever crimes they commit are not punished by thirty-nine lashes privately, on the plantation, but they are brought to trial publicly and legally. It is true, there appear more crimes than formerly, because, under the slave system, these were private matters, for the most part, and explained by the whip; now they are patent. The same thing obtains under all despots. In Russia and Turkey, we do not hear of crimes to any extent, because there are no public newspapers worth speaking of, but as we travel from the East to the West, and finally arrive on our shores, we find some of the southern newspapers, virile by the magical telegraph, illuminating every dark hole where wrong is committed—even on our slave plantations, to some degree. It is folly, therefore, for the defenders of the huge evil of slavery to hold up Jamaica as an evidence of the indirection of striking off the chains of slaves because of the increased crime which has ensued upon such emancipation. When we can tell exactly what was the crime before emancipation took place, we shall be enabled to know really the decension of morals assumed to have taken place. What do we know of slavery is, that theft is common to those in bondage, as they are wanting in personal responsibility and dignity. John Randolph reported that he never knew an honest slave, except Juba; and we opine that saintly Uncle Toms are the exception, and not the rule.

The Kingston Journal utterly denies the failure of emancipation in that island, and we hardly need say that such local authority is valuable. It says, from the example around it, Americans need not be alarmed at freeing their negroes, lest such a step should be followed by a revolt of the liberated.

No mighty change, says the Kingston Journal, was ever known to have taken place so peacefully as the emancipation in that island; and, it adds, a very large number of those who were themselves owned in 1834, are now, in 1853, and have for some time been, the owners of landed property, some of them to, comparatively, a considerable extent.

According to the same excellent and conclusive authority on this subject, depraved negroes exist in Jamaica in abundance; for blacks form the greater portion of the population, just as in countries where whites predominate, white criminals abound. But it asserts roundly, and challenges contradiction, that in the short period of fifteen years, the race has improved—not only improved, but progressed beyond what might have been readily anticipated. 'On the whole,' continues our authority, 'if the example of the experiment, as it is called, in Jamaica, is to be invoked, the Americans have not the shadow of an excuse for continuing slavery in their Southern States for twelve months longer.'

What say our Southern papers to this? What says the cotton press? Will they favor us with an answer? We seek the truth in this weighty question, and not the mere triumph of argument.

it was not necessary to go beyond this point; that he had abundant testimony, but to use it would be work of supererogation. The presumption of law is, that a party executing a warrant does it properly, and if there was any excess of authority, it must be proven by the other side. Therefore, I move for the discharge of the defendants.

George Wykoop sworn—He was one of the defendants named in the warrant, but not arrested. Previously to swearing him, Mr. Ashmead offered that the counsel on the other side should embrace him in the petition and consider him under arrest. This they refused to do.

Mr. Brown objected to Mr. Wykoop being a witness, inasmuch as he was a defendant named in the warrant.

The objection was overruled, and Mr. W. testified that he, in company with James Crossen and John Jenkins, took the warrant to Wilkesbarre, as directed by the Marshal. The negro was pointed out to them by the agent of the claimant. They proceeded to make the arrest, when Thomas made violent resistance. He successively drew a rock and two knives, and wounded Mr. Jenkins upon the head. He then made his escape to the river; and we came to the conclusion that we could not take him alive, and not wishing to kill him, we came away.

—We have great allies,

Powers that work for us, air and earth and skies; Our friends are exultations, agonies, And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

Every noble utterance and every brave deed for freedom, the world over, redounds to our benefit. The eloquence of Victor Hugo over the graves of his companions in the Isle of Jersey, and the rescue of the Hungarian exile in the bay of Smyrna, are part and parcel of our great movement. Thus circumstanced, let us, by our vigilance and devotion, deserve the success which must sooner or later crown our efforts.

The Rev. C. W. Denison, formerly Editor of *Our Country*, recently appointed Chaplain to the Penitentiary, has now received the appointment of Consul to Denmark. It is to be hoped he will remain there the rest of his days.—*Boston Atlas*.

The Reverend gentleman above named has had a most remarkable career. We first knew him some twenty years ago, in this city, when he was a young Baptist preacher, mainly devoted to Abolition, and living, it was understood, on the bounty of Arthur Tappan. He left our city soon after, and next turned up in Boston, where he attended more to preaching and less to Abolition, but did a fair business in each. In 1844, when on the way to the Whig National Convention at Baltimore, we fell in with this apostle, who inquired our business, and we replied, we were going down to help nominate Mr. Clay for President. 'How can you support a slaveholder?' he asked, in a tone of equal sorrow and amazement. 'Why, Mr. D., what business brings you this way?' 'I have just been attending the Baptist Triennial Convention at Philadelphia.' 'Were there any slaveholders among its members?' 'Yes, I regret to say, there were some.' 'Now, Mr. Denison, what sort of idea can you have of the relative sacredness of Religion and Politics, when you practically hold a slaveholder good enough for an ambassador of Christ, but not good enough for an officer of our Federal Government?' He tacitly acknowledged the error, and has since attempted to lecture us on the enormity of supporting slaveholders for office.

The next we heard of our Reverend acquaintance, he was writing a Native American paper in Boston; not by word, heading into no-party Taylorism, out of which he made a very good office for himself, but did not manage long to retain it. Next he dipped into Websterism and Unionism, and figured as one of the Webster lobby at Baltimore year. He kept on Union-saving through the campaign, gradually easing off from Webster and going in for Pierce; and in October last, he was making scurrilous stamp harangues in favor of the latter. And now he has his reward.—N. Y. Tribune.

The EDUCATION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR. In the midst of all the conflicts and disputes that have arisen in relation to the social position of 'free persons of color' in the United States, it is not a little remarkable, that the work of education has progressed among them to the extent that it has in the larger cities on the border lines of slavery. In Baltimore, there have long been many progressive schools for colored children, as there have been of late years in Washington, also; and we are day in receipt of a letter from a highly respectable and intelligent lady of the latter city, which says:—

'I have gratified my curiosity by an examination of the school for colored girls, on M street, between 19th and 20th streets, opened last Monday. It was established nearly two years since, and has been well sustained; the pupils—an average of forty in number—marking mad progress in all the branches taught, and paying strict regard to neatness in dress and person, and exhibiting great skill in whatever is attempted, and manifesting remarkable ease, quietness and propriety of manner and deportment. It is designed to give them thorough instruction in all the branches of school education, and thus to prepare them to instruct their own people in this or any other country where their services may be in demand. I think the popular objections to the instruction of these people are subsiding, and that the best slaves are found to be the best instructed.'

We doubt the accuracy of this opinion, and incline to the belief, that so long as the temptation and the opportunity are before the negroes to escape from slavery, so long will the indisposition of their masters to have them instructed continue.—*Baltimore Clipper*.

—A correspondent relates the following circumstances, which occurred very recently at New Orleans:—

He went thither in his ship from Liverpool, with eleven black sailors. By the laws of the State, he was required to give \$500 bonds that he would take them out of the State. This legal requirement was fulfilled on his part; but, under the United States laws, he also had to pay the usual hospital money at the custom-house for each of these men. Two of them afterward were taken ill, and though each has a bona fide protection, granted at the custom-house in Boston, the Collector refused to admit them to the United States Marine Hospital, because they were not recognized as American citizens. The Deputy-Colelector at New Orleans told our correspondent that their orders were to collect hospital money on black sailors, but not to admit them to the hospital. Application, in the presence of a witness, was twice made, ineffectually, to this end.

We call on the Secretary of the Treasury for some explanation of this matter. It carries comment with it. Our government should not require pay for a possible boon, and then refuse to give it. Such conduct is simply dishonest. What says the Secretary!—N. Y. Tribune.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. We do not subscribe to the doctrines avowed by this great man, nor like always the mode in which he defends them. Yet he is a master-builder. The time will be, indeed, when the history of our day shall be unfolded as it is, and in that, this man will be recognized as foremost amongst those who suffered for humanity, and helped it on up.

There is no mortal who does not love courage, and honor him who devotes his life to a principle.

William Lloyd Garrison has manifested this devotion and this courage. No violence, no combination, not the prison, nor a hot social oppression, has caused him to waver, either in expressing his convictions or in doing what he thought right. Courage like this must be honored! A life so true will bear its fruit!

We are rejoiced to see him so fresh in feeling, and so vigorous in action. Such a man, indeed, never wears, or grows old in spirit; and hence that combination of beauty and strength which shines so brightly in his character.—*Cleveland True Democrat*.

SINGULAR DECISION. Two policemen in Cincinnati, named Hardin and Bloom, were lately presented for attempting to kidnap a negro named Watkins. They had their trial on Wednesday last, and were acquitted, the Judge ruling that as Watkins was a negro, the law supposed him to be a slave until the contrary was proven. No wonder the Cincinnati papers manifest surprise, both at the decision and the grounds for it. It would be quite as legitimate, and certainly not vastly wide of the mark, to argue that because the Judge wears the Baltimore platform to-day will be very glad of a fair pretext for swearing by that of Buffalo-morrow. Nobody suspects that the priests and politicians who defend the Fugitive Slave Law on

## THE LIBERATOR.

## No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 21, 1853.

## JUDGE GRIER'S DECISION.

There is no truer test of the nature of the institutions of a country than the character of its Judges. The point at which the laws touch the citizen or the subject is precisely the one which reveals their real complexion. The man who connects the two together, who directs the machinery and teaches it to perform its appropriate work, is not an unmeet expression of the spirit which informs the laws, and stands behind the institutions from which they spring. Pemberton at the trial of Lord Russell, Jeffreys at that of Algernon Sydney and the Bloody Assizes, the Committee of Public Safety in the days of Robespierre, the Military Commissions sitting at this day in France and Italy, all exemplify and incarnate the spirit of the Government which employs them. A corrupt Government is very sure of a base and servile Judiciary. When wickedness has been organized into law, or has exalted itself above law, there are never wanting men enough to expand and apply it, and to exhibit in their own persons the quality of the legislation and the spirit of the lawyer.

We have had proofs enough of the truth of these political truisms in the history of this country for the last three years. When the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, the whole National Judiciary, at the North, made haste to accept and enforce it. The dirty parts of the work was at first left to scrubby Commissioners, such as Ingraham and Curtis; but the higher authorities stood ready to back them up and confirm their doings. The dominant power had commanded that this thing should be done, and the tools were all ready to its hand. Judge Grier, of the Supreme Court of the United States, has

strictly distinguished himself among this tribe of subservient magistrates. The *Evening Post* not infrequently compares his tone to that of Jeffreys. Insolent, overbearing, tyrannical, determined to make everything bend to the Sovereign's Will, he certainly reminds one of those former days when the plainest language was employed on the Bench or at the Bar toward Slaveholding criminals, or of yet earlier times, when Sir Edward Coke called Lord Bacon a 'Spider of Hell'! His determination to proceed criminally against all persons who shall be guilty of attempting to bring slave-hunters, who violate the laws of the several States, in the course of their laudable pursuits, to justice in the jurisdiction where the offence was committed, is characterized by the spirit and the manners of the Lord Chancellor of James II. He has proceeded to judgment on the matter of the slave-catchers brought before him in Habeas Corpus, and discharged them, of course. So the Union is safe for the present.

This decision and disposition on the part of this Judge should bring to the serious reflection of the country the strides which the General Government is making towards Centralization. The processes of the State Courts are to be quashed when they issue against criminals who wear the cockade of the U. S. Marshal. The citizens of Pennsylvania or Massachusetts may be assaulted, wounded, chained, shot at, with impunity, if the assassins will swear that it was a slave that they took him for. The whole country is made into one Great Slave State, and any outrage becomes legalized when exercised in furtherance of Slavery. Or, rather, the fact that the whole nation is, in fact, one Great Slave State for this purpose, is thus authentically stated. And, after all, it is perhaps well that such cases as the Wilberforce affair should occur, to bring it home to the minds of the leges that what the Abolitionists say is true, that there is no such thing as a Free State in the Union; but that the condition of a slave is not altered by his escape into any Free State, (so called,) but he remains a slave, liable to recapture, as much as when he was in Georgia or Carolina. This being the case, whatever is necessary to vindicate the conceded rights of the master, must be allowed and defended.

The chief merit of *The Liberator* is, that it is not afraid to contrast with its own arguments and statements, whatever his enemies, or those of Emancipation, chose to bring against them, and in the shape they had given to their hostility. Nothing could prove his own confidence in his own cause and in the sufficiency of his method, more conclusively than this course of his. And the enemy have long felt, that to be put into tillery, and permanently nailed there by the ears, even though their chastisement was enhanced by no pelt with rotten eggs and brickbats, was a punishment greater than they could bear. This has been especially the case with those papers which have tried to pass themselves off as Anti-Slavery. And there is reason for this feeling. *The Liberator* is one of the few newspapers which will remain a standard historical authority as to the matters of which it treats, and which will be the substance of our current history. While the myriads of newspapers that go flying all abroad over the land will perish, like ephemera, with the day that gives them birth and the topics that give them life, *The Liberator* will be permanently valuable, as containing 'the very Age and Body of the Time, its Form and Pressure,' as to the controlling element of our destiny. While almost all other papers will pass away to 'the oblivious crows,' or be doomed to

Line trucks, hold spire, or, fluttering in a row, Befring the rails of Bedlam or Soho.'

The *Liberator* will hold its place on the shelves of public libraries, as one of the authentic sources of the history of this day and generation. Wherefore, it is not a page on which one would choose to have one's meanness and brutalities written down for posterity.

We have often thought that a most diverting and not uninteresting book might be made out of the materials provided by the Refuge of Oppression. A Catalogue Raisonne of the contents of that Museum of Morbid Anatomy would contain most singular specimens of abnormal cases, of moral malformations and diseases, arising from the *malaria* which broods over the country, and the distorting and depraving influences under which the youth of the country grow up. Such a book would tell many a curious tale. It would contain the picture of the portion of the American mind which has been especially the case with those papers which have tried to pass themselves off as Anti-Slavery. And these various presses, which sympathize with the American Society, have uniformly copied all the defences made by the Seeders, and been scrupulous to place before their readers every document proceeding from either side. Our ranks, therefore, are more than fully informed upon the merits of both sides of the question. Meanwhile, no organ of the other party has ever copied one word we have said, or ever silenced its readers to see any of the Statements we have made in relation to the warfare carried on against us. In such circumstances, it would be waste of time to vary our readers with further discussion. It is unnecessary to refer Mr. Goodell himself to the columns of the *Liberator* and the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*; and whenever the presses of his friends shall copy any one of the many Statements we have made, during the last thirteen years, it will be time enough for us to consider the propriety of drawing up another, with some hope of its reaching those who meet need to know the facts we would contain.

ROBERT F. WALLCUTT, *Rev. Sec'y.*

NEW YORK, Oct. 3, 1853.

TO MESSRS. SAMUEL MAY, JR., FRANCIS JACKSON, R. F. WALLCUTT, and the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society:

GENTLEMEN—On returning from the country, I find THE LIBERATOR of Sept. 2, containing your response to my demand in that paper of July 29.

One of the strongest and most valuable attractions that my book of History can receive, is the unconscious and unintentional testimony of those who fail to find it, who charge upon it 'mis-statements' and 'errors,' declaring it to be 'autrue and unexceptionable.'—you, nevertheless, being called upon to substantiate or retract' those charges, decline, on mature consideration, to do so, or even to bring forward any definite specifications of them. This invaluable testimony, gentlemen, you have furnished me, and I now tender it, to you publicly, through THE LIBERATOR, as a full history of the Anti-Slavery cause, from its origin to the present time, to every reader of the *Standard* and the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. Such a history, you will perceive, is of infinite value to the progress of the cause, and to the moral and spiritual development of the nation.

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## THE NEW ENGLAND ZEITUNG.

Mr. GRANTSON: Abolitionists who read German ought to know that there is published in Boston a weekly paper in that language, which for its outspoken sentiments on the subject of slavery is well deserving their support. It is filled with a great deal of ability, and contains many articles on politics, American and foreign, which are no much above the common run of our newspaper readable. And it has the crowning merit of always speaking on every subject exactly what it thinks. My impression is, that it is very superior to most of the inferior newspapers published in this country, which are generally the tools of our miserable bastard Democracy.

long as we have no German Parker in the United States, we cannot labor better for our aims than by supporting the fearless and clear-sighted man of New Hampshire.\*

\* Our friend is mistaken. New Hampshire has produced a good many able men, but we are afraid her history will be searched in vain for able men of principle. Mr. Parker is not only a native of Massachusetts, but of the spot where the first blood of the Revolution was shed, and a son of one of the noble Massachusetts yeomen who shouldered their muskets on that great day. Could he have a fitter pedigree?—Tr.

## THE WESTERN FIELD.

RICHMOND, Wayne Co., Ind., October 11, 1858.

DEAR FRIEND QUINCY:

With your power of the pen, one could give some rather vivid sketches of 'Field-land' Anti-Slavery Experience, here in Indiana. Here is a fruitfulness of theme, exhaustless as the fertility of the prairie.

Much of Southern Indiana was settled by emigration from Tennessee, Virginia, Kentucky and the Carolinas. Many of the settlers left those States from a religious hatred of slavery, but more were fairly started out by its withering power. The same emigrating from its blighting influence is still seen, and the leading thoroughfares from those States are to-day covered with pilgrims, on their way, generally west of the Mississippi. This emigration, together with the immense business done on the 'Underground Railroad,' will keep the census there much as it has been, if not growing beneficially less. These constant stampedes of free, as well as enslaved, are among the hopeful signs of the year on which it has entered.

A few years ago, two young slave girls, nearly white, escaped from Tennessee, and took refuge in a colored settlement near where we held a meeting last week. On a Sunday morning, their pursuers arrived, and rallied the whole region to the rescue. Three times that day, our friend told us, he was summoned by a Justice of the Peace to go in pursuit. The colored settlement was besieged by nearly two hundred armed men, drunk with rage and whiskey, some with rifles and muskets, others with clubs and cutlasses. One old man, over sixty, and half doubled with rheumatism, was on the spot with loaded rifle, and hungry for his prey as a hyena. A messenger galloped up to a Methodist meeting in the place, and with startling cry roused up the worshippers to the holy hunting. Nearly every man went, and the minister preached to the women, and prayed doubtless for success in the heavenly warfare to which their husbands and fathers had consecrated themselves. Once, the pursuers thought that his prayers and their bravery were to be crowned with the divine success and blessing. The victims appeared in sight, and were hailed by their master. A shout of devilish delight rent the air. But they were all doomed to disappointment. Both the girls slipped on suits of men's apparel, and neither Tennessee nor its blood-thirsty hunters ever saw them more.

That County is now the best in the State. It is a part of the Congressional District of George W. Julian, and gave a majority against the new Constitution, with its atrocious and unheard-of proscriptions and cruelties towards the people of color. The people are improving every day, and could our labor be succeeded by enough more of the same sort, a revolution, a grand and glorious one, would soon ensue.

Pardon my length, and believe me,

ever, truly yours,  
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On THE BENEVOLENCE.

The Amherstburg Mission, (Canada West,) through their Secretary, ISAAC J. RICE, have issued an appeal to the public for aid, a quantity of bedding intended for them having been destroyed by fire at Indianapolis. In their published circular they say:—

'Having given out our bedding to destitute persons and families, even stripping the beds in the rooms, and being destroyed to which we looked to make up our friends of the oppressed, in behalf of the flying bondmen, now being driven in such multitudes over here, late in the fall and winter.'

They wish to collect bedding sufficient for twelve beds, which they may be packed in light barrels, which will cost three dollars per barrel to get them there. They also urge the necessity of procuring a House of Reception, or free tavern, for the benefit of these 'Southern travellers.' Means to enable them to purchase provisions for the approaching winter are also solicited. Articles to be directed 'ISAAC J. RICE, Amherstburg, Canada West, care of JAMES BLACK & CO., Detroit, Michigan.'

Slavery has 'spoiled' many of these new settlers. One can hardly have any idea of the difference between them and a New England colony, as you find it so often in Northern Ohio and Michigan. It is seen in every department of life; in the roads and bridges, in the carts and carriages, in gates and fences, in the school-houses and meeting-houses, pews and pulpits, as well as in their laws and constitutions, their learning and religion. All over Indiana, as far as we have travelled, the turnpikes are good, but the tolls on some of them are enormous. The common roads are often only racks on which to torture carriages, or break the bones of passengers; and it is generally only the smallest streams that boast of bridges, and, six times out of seven, these are impassable, and you turn out and go through the channel. The large streams have generally no bridges; and when they are much swollen, travelling is very difficult. We had our baggage sadly wet, a day or two since, in crossing one, although now, the water every where is at its lowest ebb.'

You ought to see us on one of these roads, making our way home from an anti-slavery meeting late at night; the sky muffed in angry black, and the moon just then on important business the other side of the globe. One night, I walked on before the carriages (an aged man and his family were with us) and bore a lantern. It was very dark, and we had three miles to go, twisting among stumps and gullies, and round broken-down bridges, trees fallen across our track. It kept getting worse and worse, and I told my companions that it must be the road I had heard described by a traveller in these regions. He said it went out, in the morning, a broad, beautiful turnpike. Before noon, it had shrunk into a dismal cow-path, and at dark, he found it had pinched into a squared track, and took up a tree.'

Another time, a man rode on horseback and carried a lantern. A part of the way, there was no road ever cut through the woods. Once our guide got bewildered, and we came to a full stand. He soon, however, got his reckoning again, and led us safe to his hospitable home. The next night, we were conducted home through the woods by a tall Hoosier, good six foot without his stockings, bearing a brilliant torch in his brawny arm. I could not have carried it as he did five minutes; although I did one day, in your county of Norfolk, walk seven miles and a half in two and a half hours, with baggage that we weighed afterwards, and found it thirty pounds. I have never seen a more picturesque object than our guide presented. Straight and tall as an Indian chief, he dashed onward in the thick forest, a blaze of splendid light opening up the darkness for many rods around, and our snorting horse treading close upon him, evidently delighted and animated with the scene.

Last night, we could borrow no lantern, and one on our route had any, into whose light we might fall. We begged a candle, as there was no wind, and a young man who was going with us, volunteered to guide our horses, with me on his horse before, and the lighted candle in the back part of the carriage, to be used in emergencies. A more beautiful beast I never rode, and also brought us safely a number of miles, fording two creeks, and much of the way in a thick forest, where the road to us was wholly invisible, and I rode literally by faith and not by sight. We reached our home at a telling stroke, proving often the conciliating nature of Parker's genuine humor.

The Society itself, which gives these thousands the weekly opportunity to profit by Mr. Parker's instruction, consists of only about 230 paying members, men of energy, who have shown the world they are ready, by perseverance and sacrifices, at least to kill all calamities. The contributions vary from \$100 to \$1. The chief burden comes upon a few. At the last meeting of the Society, various plans were proposed for drawing contributions from a large number of the hearers.

Many of our meetings are held in log houses; sometimes in log school, sometimes in log meeting houses. Of the seats in these places, some Hoosier Cooper can yet write another 'Task'—though the day may be distant when he can commence, like his English prototype, with, 'I sing the Sofa.' But he may say with him, of the Lounges and Ottomans of to-day—

Four legs upholding firm  
A masby slab, fashion square and round.'

Such is the furniture in almost all these buildings; and the legs projecting through the slabs an inch or so, ren-

der them any thing but comfortable seats for church members and ministers, while we portray before them their pro-slavery sins and iniquities. But in most of the churches we have seen, these are all the seats they have. Nor is any partiality shown to the pulpit, or the 'high seat' in the Quaker meeting-houses.

Of the Education, Laws and Constitution of Indiana, I may say something at a future time. You will not understand me as speaking of *all the people* in this section, in what I have said. But when persons have come from the slave States, not one of my pictures is overdrawn; so deadly is the effect of the 'Peculiar Institution,' on all who fall under its contamination. Good folks they would be, but have never learned the way. Comfort and convenience, good taste and refined manners and habits, must be learned elsewhere, or be unknown and unthought of. And then, all such persons are the most deadly persecutors of the colored people, on account of their complexion, to be found in the world. The hatred of many of them towards a negro rises to a perfect passion. They would have been slaveholders, had they been able. As it is, they are, very many of them, ever ready to run down and return a fugitive slave.

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Parkers' views on slavery are known. He sees before him a clearer future, and trusts in the reinvigoration of that earnest enthusiasm which inspired the signs of the Declaration—an enthusiasm to which he has given a strong impetus, and which he has continued to sustain, notwithstanding the opposition of his party.

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## POETRY.

From the Hartford Republican.

## FORWARD!

Forward! the day is breaking;  
Earth shall be dark no more;  
Millions of men are waking  
On every sea and shore;  
With trumpets and with banners  
The world is marching on;  
The air rings with hosannas;  
The field is fought and won.  
Forward! on crown and mitre  
We trample as we go,  
While bright and ever brighter  
The fires of morning glow;  
Our broken foes are flying,  
Blasted by light from heaven;  
Or in the battling dying,  
Unwept and unforgiven.

Forward! though storm and thunder  
May roar, to beat us back,  
Though the earth cleave asunder  
Across our constant track;  
No shapes of terror frighten  
Hearts that are true and strong,  
But the flames their pathway brighten,  
And the thunders roll in song.  
Forward! the world before us  
Listens to hear our tread;  
And the calm, pure heavens o'er us,  
Smile blessings on our head;  
Hope, like an eagle, hovers  
Above the way we go;  
And the shield of Patience covers  
Our hearts from every foe.  
Forward! let none now falter,  
The glorious end is near,  
When temple, throne and altar  
Shall fall and disappear;  
Truth, born of Heaven, shall guide us  
To his own happy land,  
And ever beside us,  
Freedom and Love shall stand.

## THE CRIMINAL

BY CAROLINE F. ORNE.

They had barred him in the dungeon,  
They had chained him in the cell,  
For his crimes were great and many,  
When in their hands he fell.  
Their bitter words and taunting,  
Their sharp reproof and keen,  
Their scourging and their flogging,  
He had borne with sullen mien.  
His brow was dark and lowering,  
His eye was fierce and stern,  
From out whose sunken covert  
Unhallowed fires still burn.  
His heart was scared and hardened,  
His conscience cold and dead;  
He was utterly abandoned,  
Forever lost,—they said.

For he answered back each menace  
With a sullen, angry frown,  
And still, in moody silence,  
On his iron bed lay down.  
But there came into his dungeon  
One of a gentler mould,  
And in a low, sweet voice, began  
Christ's gospel to unfold.

Still in his bitter silence  
The prisoner stood unmoved,  
And heeded not the message  
Of the Father's well-beloved.

But when the gentle stranger  
Of the prisoner's childhood told,  
And how tenderly his mother  
Did her dear son enfold,—

How she prayed for him at even,  
As by her side he knelt,  
And what a mournful anguish  
For his crimes and guilt she felt,

And how, perchance, her spirit  
Might look down upon him still,  
And mourn to see him treading  
The downward path of ill;

Then from the iron-hearted  
Came sobs of grief and pain;  
His hard, hard soul was melted,  
And tears fell down like rain.

On the stone floor of that dungeon  
The penitent tears fell down,  
And the warm hand of the stranger  
He wrung within his own.

He had borne the jibe, the taunting,  
He had cast back scorn for scorn;  
For their wrath returned that anger  
Which is of anger born.

But the stranger's words of kindness  
To his better nature spoke,  
And unsealed the fountain hidden  
In the adamantine rock—

\* My mother! oh, my mother!

If thou canst see thy son,  
Rejoice amid the angels,  
For a new life is begun."

Wouldst thou lead an erring brother  
From the ways of guilt and sin—

Remember, anger hardens,

But love and kindness win.

Cambridgeport, Mass.

## FAME

TRANSLATED FROM SCHILLER.

What shall I do lest life in silence pass?  
And if it do,

And never prompt the bray of noisy brass,  
What needst thou rue?

Remember, ay, the ocean deeps are mute;

The shallows roar;

Worth is the ocean—fame is but the bruit  
Along the shore.

What shall I do to be forever known?

The duty ever.

This did fall many, who yet slept unknown—

O! never, never!

Think'st thou, perchance, that they remain unknown?

Whom thou know'st not?

By angel trumps in heaven their praise is blown,  
Divine their lot.

What shall I do to gain eternal life?

Discharge aright.

The simple dues with which each day is rife;

Yea, with thy might.

Ever perfect scheme of action thou devise

Will life be fled,

While he, who ever acts as conscience cries,

Shall live, though dead.

## LIFE

I slept, and dreamed that life was Beauty;  
I woke, and found that life was Duty.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## STATE PRISONS—LUNATIC ASYLUMS.

COLUMBUS, Ohio, Sept. 13, 1853.

DEAR GARRISON:—I have been visiting the Penitentiary and the Lunatic Asylum of Ohio. More than 500 human beings are in the former; quite a large number are in the latter. I went all over the prison; saw the convicts at their work; the cells for solitary confinement by night; the chapel where they are driven out to worship; or rather, where a hired agent of the State and Church performs worship for them; and all the paraphernalia of a Christian (?) penitentiary. Here, Christians (?) immure in dark, close, narrow cells of stone, those whom they deem unfit to live in their midst. They select certain of their number, pronounce them sinners above all others, and place them here, ostensibly, as some of them say, to reclaim them from the evil of their ways.

Last evening, a mass meeting of the Franklin county Independent and Whiskey Democracy was held here, to oppose the Maine Law. It fizzled out—was a total failure. Free Soilers and Maine Law men are trying to combine to carry the election this fall. They will succeed in many counties, perhaps in the State. They are stamping the State bravely. The Whig and Democratic parties are in the death-sigh in Ohio.

To-morrow, Seward gives an address before the Capital University of Ohio. The city is in a great stir at his coming. But 'Welsh Hippo' is that to be exhibited to-night, making a far greater stir. The people had rather see a horse-prance, a man dance on a running horse, and stand on his head, and hear a fool spout nonsense, than hear Seward talk of Humanity and the Higher Law.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## REFORMATORY.

From the R. I. Freeman.

## WORLD'S TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

T. W. HIGGINSON AND SAMUEL WOLCOTT.

MR. EDITOR.—Your readers are aware that the question of "Woman's Rights" has been introduced into some of our late Temperance Conventions, which have seen fit to pass judgment upon it. At the recent "World's Temperance Convention" in New York, Miss Antoinette Brown appeared, with regular credentials, and was received, but on rising to speak, was clamored down and finally excluded from the platform by a vote.

The first day, the Convention passed a motion affirming that the platform of discussion was not the proper sphere of woman. The third day, they passed a resolution affirming that it was not their privilege to decide that point, but that she should be excluded from their own, in accordance with usage.

According to me, it was a mere question of sex, with an explicit disclaimer of the very principle which had been asserted. These contesting resolutions were offered by the same delegation. Gen. Cary, of Ohio—and were both adopted by the Convention. There were some members who did not concur in these proceedings, and of this number was the Rev. Mr. Wolcott, pastor of the High Street Congregational Church in this city, who gained the ear of the Convention long enough to utter the following manly protest, as reported at the time in the New York *Tribune*:

"Rev. Mr. Wolcott said that nothing could be further from his intention than to wish to occupy the time of the Convention; but his resolution, as member, of his own making, and could not be yielded. He seconded the motion to strike out the last resolution most heartily, not that he differed in opinion with those who felt that this platform was not the proper place for woman, for that was his own opinion. He cheerfully conceded to every one the free exercise and expression of personal judgment, but his conviction was in accordance with those who held that woman was the rights of delegates; the issue raised in Boston was the rights of the friends of the cause. Your State Committee called a Convention, not of men, but of women, and who would gladly avail themselves of a method and so favorable an opportunity to exhibit their talents? We can be entirely united; and it is a pleasant reflection to us both, that we have faced the common foe on more than one hard-fought field. We can still meet as brothers in any fair Temperance Convention, but it must be under the protection of recognized rules, which will relieve us, on the one hand, of all responsibility for what any individual member may happen to say or do, and guard us, on the other, against any encroachment by the body on the feelings and views which we may cherish on topics alien to that of Temperance and the Maine Law.

With sincere regards and kind wishes, believe me ever

and efficiently together for a noble and beneficent end, we found ourselves, to our inexpressible regret and disappointment, resolved into a tumultuous assemblage, with all the passions of human nature in conflict with each other. It was mournful, indeed, to see so good a cause struggling under such disabilities. May I be spared another such spectacle! Even though our discussions were wasted on irrelevant themes, and the moral influence of the gathering had been sadly destroyed, we might still have saved the integrity of the Convention, by keeping our votes and records true to the one great object for which we had assembled. For we made an honest but ineffectual struggle.

Notwithstanding these untoward occurrences, I shall not, as it respects the cause, take counsel of despair or despondency, for my trust is still in that Being whose divine prerogative it is to bring order out of chaos, light out of darkness, good out of evil. You and I, my dear friend, differ not a little on many questions, and this of "Woman's Rights" is one of them. But in the cause of Temperance, we are entirely united; and it is a pleasant reflection to us both, that we have faced the common foe on more than one hard-fought field. We can still meet as brothers in any fair Temperance Convention, but it must be under the protection of recognized rules, which will relieve us, on the one hand, of all responsibility for what any individual member may happen to say or do, and guard us, on the other, against any encroachment by the body on the feelings and views which we may cherish on topics alien to that of Temperance and the Maine Law.

With sincere regards and kind wishes, believe me ever

Yours faithfully,

SAMUEL WOLCOTT.

Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON.

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 1, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR.—You are right in inferring that I am entirely prepared to have my letter published, though I do not seek its publication. Your letter to me casually read to Mr. W., but was not aware that he had applied to you for the correspondence. He has my full consent to send it to any journal that will insert it.

Since I write you, your Massachusetts State Temperance Convention has met, and disposed very summarily, of another phase of the same question. The issue raised in New York was the rights of delegates; the issue raised in Boston was the rights of the friends of the cause. Your State Committee called a Convention, not of men, but of friends of Temperance; and it contradicts all my notions of fairness and justice for a majority to restrict the basis after they come together. There are no more devoted friends of the cause than the women of Massachusetts, thousands of whom petitioned for the Maine Law; while there is no single fact which I deem more significant of the moral features of our enterprise than that the enemies of the law, in the counter petitions which they so industriously circulated last year, did not obtain the signature of a solitary lady. I hope that we will have kept out, no one would have insisted more strenuously than himself upon doing it, would not violate a single principle, nor trench a hair's-breadth upon the rights of any member. He would not do the shadow of injustice to any mortal to save this Convention or a thousand it from volcanic explosion. [Applause.] It was a blemish upon their proceedings, to introduce any other topics than such as were legitimately involved in the subject of Temperance; and the result of their introduction would be, that the expression of the views of the Convention would go forth without authority and return without respect. [Applause.]

Hearing of the following correspondence relating to that matter, I applied for a copy of it, which was readily granted; and believing (with others) that the interest felt in the will warrant its publication, I submit it to your paper for the purpose.

S. W. W.

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 3, 1853.

WORCESTER, Sept. 9, 1853.

DEAR SIR.—Permit me to thank you, in the name of all just and honorable persons, for your many words in the World's Temperance Convention of yesterday, as reported in the *Tribune*. They stood out refreshingly, amid the general anger and baseness. The fact that you do not sympathize with us who think that woman should speak upon the temperance platform, gave peculiar value to your defense of their rights as delegates.

Among those adverse to hearing them, there seemed to be none, except yourself and Mr. Hoar, who had the manliness to concede their rights as delegates, and to protest against the outrage done to them in this capacity. It was this point, and not the *Woman's Rights* question, upon which issue was joined, both here and in the Brick Church meeting. It was a question whether one portion of the acknowledged delegates had the right to gag the other portion. And Justice could here be vindicated more powerfully by one who did not sympathize (as I do) with the practice of female oratory.

I am also particularly glad of your course, because you are a clergyman, and the clergy seemed to behave worse than any body else, on that occasion.

The experience of our Whole World's Temperance Convention, the week previous, was as conclusive as to the value of female orators—the women made really so much the best speeches on that occasion—that some of us must be pardoned if we retain our heresy on that subject. But we cannot expect to hurry people on question so important; and all we can demand is candor and justice from those who differ from us. To that demand you have nobly responded. It adds to my former grounds of respect and regard for you.

Cordially yours, T. W. HIGGINSON.

Rev. S. WOLCOTT.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 12, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR.—I have just received your favor of the 9th inst., and highly appreciate its kind expressions. I value it, also, as an evidence that my position is understood—of which I could not be sure, amid the confusion of our recent Convention.

We met in New York as the friends of Temperance and the Maine Law; differing greatly on all other questions, ecclesiastical and political, but cordially agreed on this. There was obviously one course, by which we could be just to each other, and relieve ourselves of all extraneous responsibility; and that was, to adhere to our rules—admit freely and courteously whatever was admissible under a fair construction of our call and rules, and exclude whatever was not. This was the course proposed by the President, Mr. Dow, and advocated by our friend, Mr. Hoar, but unfortunately not sustained by the Convention. The remarks of mine to which you refer were made just after a majority of the Convention had forced through, under the previous question, a strong expression of their views, and were in no mood to listen to another suggestion. I rose with extreme reluctance, and taxed the patience of the assembly as briefly as I could; but our proceedings had reached a point where my responsibilities were to be neither evaded by myself nor extinguished by others.

With the sentiments in which I have been trained, and which my judgment embraces, it would have been a trial to me, as great, perhaps, as to any of my respected friends and brethren, to hear a woman's voice raised on our public platform; but when, under the call of the Convention, and in accordance with explanations thereof made by some of the persons who had an agency in framing it, bad, on that day, gone to the World's Convention, and presented her credentials to the Chairman of the appropriate Committee, by whom they had been received without objection.

Her right of membership had been expressly acknowledged by the President, and—no appeal from that decision having been taken—by the Convention. Having risen to thank the Convention for this act of justice to Woman, the President pronounced her in *order*; but notwithstanding the evident desire of the great majority to hear her, and in the face of the President's decision, she had been insulted and gagged by mobocratic demonstrators, proceeding, for the most part, from persons on the platform. The question whether a woman had a right to a seat as a delegate under the call was no longer at issue. That question had been raised and settled without any agency or responsibility of ours. The question then was, whether, after the Convention had recognized the right of Miss Brown, and the President had declared her to be entitled to the floor, she should be allowed to proceed according to the rules of order, or the Convention herself be overthrown by a mob. In such circumstances, we felt we could render no higher service to the cause of Temperance than to send to the Convention a man who, by his long experience in deliberative assemblies, his thorough knowledge of Parliamentary law, his eloquence as a speaker, and his clear perception of the tactics and aims of the minority, was qualified to render important aid to the President and the majority of the body in their struggles to maintain order. We knew him to be a thorough teetotaller, an earnest worker in the cause, and a man whose character would add weight to any assembly of which he might be a member. The Call of the Convention contained no limitation as to the age of the Societies that might be fit to appoint delegates, and feeling that our object—the defense of the Convention against a mob—as honorable as it was important, we did not hesitate for a moment to adopt the measure which has subjected us to so much undeserved censure. So far from deeming any apology necessary for having taken such a course, we are rather disposed to assert a claim to the thanks of the orderly members of the Convention for furnishing them so worthy a champion of their cause—one whose gentlemanly and Christian bearing afforded the best possible rebuke of the rowdyism that reigned on the platform.

The rejection of Mr. Phillips and his co-delegates, whether we regard the act itself, the manner of its performance, or the spirit by which it was dictated, we hesitate not to brand as alike disorderly and disgraceful to the parties concerned it.

It was a violation of the spirit, no less than the letter, of the Call, but worthy of the men who could drown the voice of a noble and Christian woman in mobocratic violence, and force her to assert the supremacy of the "Higher Law," in deference to the traffickers in human flesh.

If the rulers of the Convention had shown as much zeal for the cause of Temperance as they did to gag and insult Miss Brown and exclude Mr. Phillips, the world would not have had occasion, as they now have, to say that they disgraced themselves, and injured the enterprise for the promotion

## OCTOBER 21.

of which they came together. The spirit of energetic and professed advocates of a plan, and canes, after the pattern of a run caucus and vociferations, is one which we hope never again to be present in our city. It is worse, sober and good order, to draw the mask and show them in their true colors.

We will only add that the Society, whose front is poor, will not be suffered to die, but will endeavor to perform its full share of the work that from the curse of ignorance.

By order of the Society, at a meeting held October 15, 1853, at No. 141 Fifth Avenue.

L. C. COE, President.

W. M. A. HALL, Secretary.

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